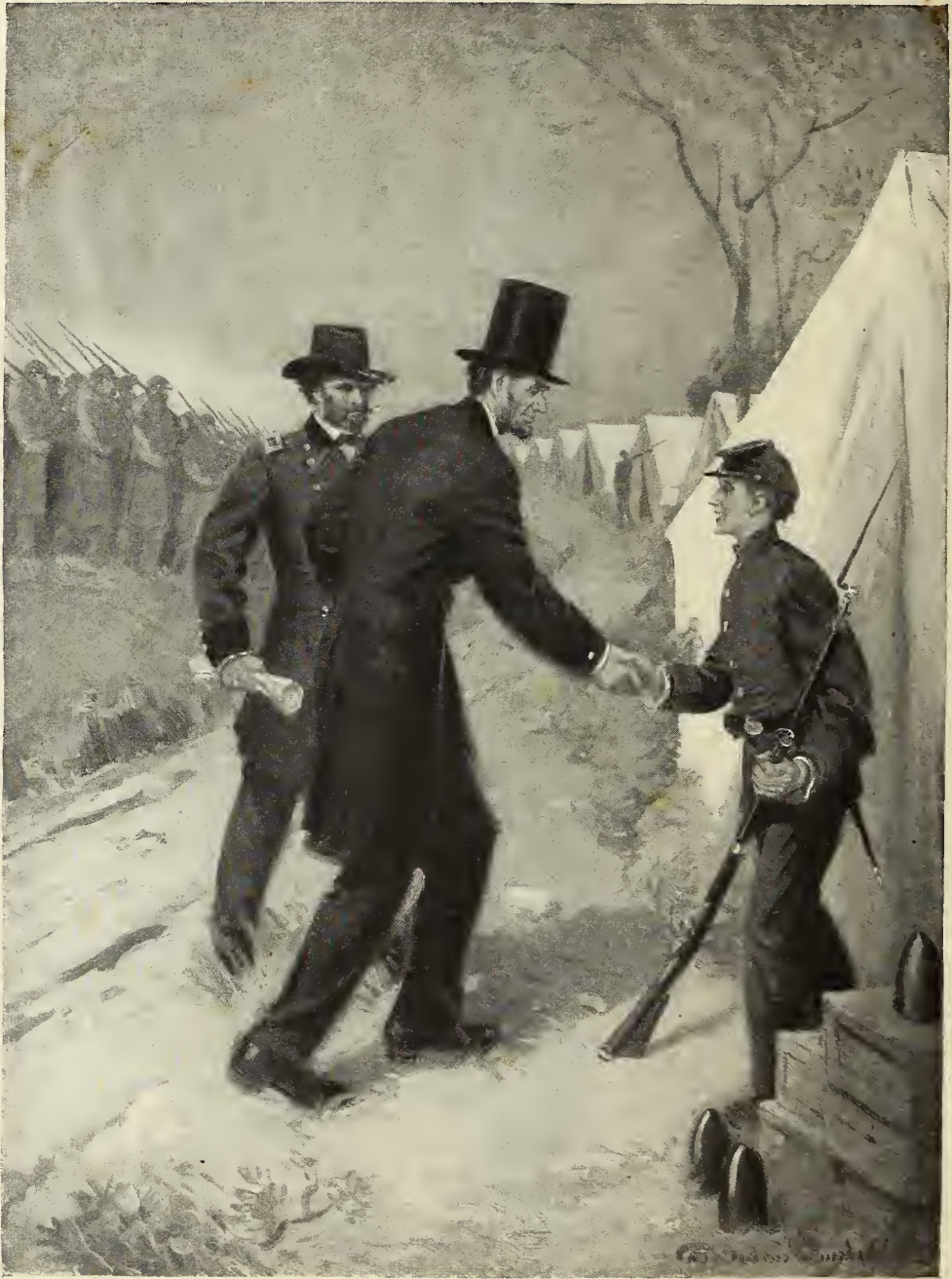


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“There I was, standin’ stiff as a five-year-old hickory, an’ jest as the President came
along I jerked the old gun from one hand to the other an’
put out a dirty paw to Lincoln!”

IN THE INTERPRETER'S HOUSE

*So they drew on towards the house (the house of the Interpreter),
and when they came to the door they heard a great talk in the house.*

RUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

WHAT WOULD LINCOLN DO NOW?

I WONDER sometimes—said the Responsible Editor—if we Americans are conscious of the depth of our confidence in the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln.

I believe it to be true that we would rather have his opinion on a public matter that puzzles us than that of any other American.

Popular Reverence for Lincoln's Opinion

People never cease asking what Lincoln thought about this or what Lincoln would have done about that. Here, for instance, is a letter from a reader, explaining in great detail how Lincoln would

have solved the trust problem. This is one of a kind I regularly receive. To be sure the scheme is the writer's own. Obviously, though perhaps unconsciously, he aims to dignify it by his contention that if Lincoln were alive it is what he would have done. Yet I am quite willing to forgive this rather naïve exploitation.

I am not quite so tolerant toward the habit of bolstering up one's cause by half-quoting or misquoting Lincoln's words. There has been too much of this. There are certain misquotations that appear as regularly as the seasons. Last spring, on a bulletin board at one of our great universities, I found what pretended to be Mr. Lincoln's opinion on Woman Suffrage. It was a quotation which has been proven incorrect at least a dozen times within my memory, and here it was, solemnly and conspicuously placarding the walls of a seat of learning!

It was not what Mr. Lincoln said on a subject or the conjectured course of action he might have followed that can help us much. But it would be priceless to us to get a clear understanding of the temper and the mental attitude in which he faced a problem. I should like to see applied to the trust question to-day the same big, impersonal seriousness

that he gave to the question of the extension of slavery in the years between 1854-60. We are beginning to get our teeth into this trust problem, in very much the same way the country went at the slavery question at that time. And there is the same cry for us to let go. I can no more believe that Lincoln would counsel us to let go now than he did then. It is much more likely he would tell us, as he used to tell the young lawyer who sought his advice on a case, "Go at it like a dog at a root."

He had a staying mind. He knew that you cannot quickly uproot a growth which for years has been allowed to spread, taking on more and more intricate forms and burrowing deeper and deeper into unexpected places. He realized that such a growth cannot be destroyed or corrected by mere lopping off of roots and branches. He knew that you must find its core and destroy that,—a work which calls for time and patience. In speaking of slavery, Lincoln often used an expressive adjective; it was a "durable" question, he said—something which was not to be settled in a day but must be stayed by and followed from phase to phase. If it was right that a problem be fought through, no defeat, no mistake, no state of bitter hysteria brought on by failure to see clearly where things were going, made him hesitate. Do you remember what he told his sorrowing friends after his defeat by Douglas in 1858:

"The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

"I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final rightful result."

To my way of thinking, then, Lincoln would have considered it wise to go ahead, as best we may under the present laws, with our attempt

**We need
Lincoln's
Temper of
Mind**

to get an approximate solution of the trust problem. No human wisdom, not even Lincoln's, has ever been able to get to the heart of a great public question with instant and unerring penetration.

There must be trials, experiments, blunders, and failures.

We have before us now a grave question involving the welfare of millions, the useful constancy of trade and transportation, and above all the freedom of opportunity for coming generations. It becomes us to bring to it something of Lincoln's temper, to have something of his splendid faith. We should know that poor blundering man does get on, in spite of injustice and painful mistake, if with good heart he keeps working and struggling.

Lincoln had a way of meeting the crises of his long struggle which would be very useful now, if more of us were willing to forget our personal irritations and discouragements and employ it. It was *casting up accounts to show what had been done*. It gave solidity to his position, a place to stand on, a guaranty of future progress, which as we look back on it we can easily imagine must have been both a great comfort to him and an effective discomfort to his critics. More than once during the war, at times of terrible disaster and discouragement, he presented to despairing friends the gains in the case, in terms of such high and serene faith that he silenced their complaints and rallied them to new efforts.

Might it not be to our advantage to cast up accounts at this juncture? Have we no balance to our credit after this twenty-five or more years' fight to free ourselves from exploitations, to strike off privilege, and restrain the natural greed of man? If our trade does not as yet go always "unvexed to the sea," certainly it runs more freely than it has for fifty years, and the methods for cleaning the

**The Control
of Trusts:
How Far We
Have Got**

channels of the few snags and pirates that remain are clear to us all. We all know that such has been the gain in the control of transportation that it will never be possible in this country to build another Standard Oil Trust—that the club by which that organization bludgeoned the life out of its rivals is broken. The Standard Oil Company was founded on secret rebates;

they were always contrary to the common law, never granted or taken except under cover. We finally have made the penalty for rebating so severe that there is neither fun nor profit in the practice: that is, the railroad can no longer be used by one to the disadvantage of the many, as the Standard Oil Company once used it. That is something.

But you tell me that this same Standard Oil Company no longer needs the railroads as it once did, that it owns the system of transportation, its wonderful spider web of pipes through which it sends its raw product. True—but this spider web of pipes, like that of rails, *is no longer a private system*. It is subject to the same laws and restrictions as railroads, and you and I can send our oil through it on parallel terms and under the same legal protection that we can send our wheat by rail. Nobody is doing it yet? True, but somebody will do it soon. The back of that particular monopoly is broken. It can never again be what it was, nor can it be duplicated. That is something.

I know that many wise people are laughing at the dissolution which the Supreme Court has ordered. Men in Wall Street recall to our mind that in 1892 the State of Ohio ordered the Standard Oil Company of Ohio to disconnect itself from the Standard Oil combination. The trust was dissolved. Holders of Standard Oil stock were supposed to receive fractional shares in each company exactly as to-day. The denominator was slightly different; that is, the parent company was divided into fewer parts—972,500 instead of 983,383. But your one share brought you the same bewilderment of fractional parts as it does to-day. In 1892 you received, let us say, $\frac{10000}{972500}$ of Atlantic Refining Company stock; to-day you receive $\frac{49996}{983383}$. Then you received, let us say, $\frac{500000}{972500}$ of the National Transit Company—to-day it is $\frac{500033}{983383}$. Although this division was arranged it was never made; it was only *pretended to be made*.

In 1894, when the Attorney-General of New York in a suit brought on this very point, that the dissolution was bogus, Mr. Joseph Choate, Mr. Choate's who was one of the counsel of 100 Shares the company in 1892, said: in the "I happen to own 100 Standard Oil shares in the Standard Oil Trust and I have never gone

forward and claimed my aliquot share. Why not? Because I would get ten in one company, and ten in another company, and two and three-fifths in another company.

"There is no power that this company can exercise to compel me and other indifferent certificate holders, if you please, to come forward and convert our trust certificates."

But you do not think that evasion and defiance is possible to-day? Not at all. The shares are being divided and *if Mr. Choate still owns those shares he will be obliged to convert them*—that is, a way has been found to force the Standard Oil Company to go through the actual process of converting stock.

But what of it? You say there will be no competition! A clever cartoonist pictures Mr. J. D. Rockefeller seated before a picture-puzzle of thirty-four pieces. The divisions are heavily lined. There are thirty-four pieces, but *they make a picture!* Mr. Rockefeller smiling and winking, says, "Perfectly simple."

But is it so simple for Mr. Rockefeller as the cartoonist thinks? For nearly thirty years these thirty-four pieces have been held to a common business end by the ever-present, ever-powerful hand of 26 Broadway. The Supreme Court orders that hand to loosen its grip. It is too much to believe that 26 Broadway will not try some device to save its power, although apparently obeying the court, but it is a difficult and dangerous task it has before it this time. Can it be done? It will be the more difficult because of the training which the thirty-four companies have received.

Mr. Rockefeller is called the father of combination, but those who know his organization know that no man ever applied the principle of competition more indefatigably than he did *within* the combination. Mr. Rockefeller knew that competition was one of nature's methods; that

it was no more to be destroyed than the method of combination. He used it within and without—in the one place to get the most from his assistants and employees, in the other place to put his competitors out of the way.

Every man in the Standard Oil Company has always been in competition with every other. His advancement has depended upon his results and an account of almost unbelievable detail was kept of the results of the humblest. Moreover, every company was in competition with every other. The artificial boundaries of the Standard Oil districts were fixed exactly as the boundaries of counties and states, and agents were ordered to remain within their districts or suffer penalties, but in spite of orders and punishments one of the

problems of the great organization has always been to keep its subsidiary companies from invading one another's territory. What will happen now, do you think? Will these thirty-four companies trained to competing with one and another, within limits, be able, of their own accord, to stay within the boundaries assigned them? Will they not go more, rather than less, their own course?

And the same is true in the case of the Tobacco Trust. The fetters on legitimate trade which the two great concerns forged by violence and fraud are broken. They will never be welded again. I do not mean that there will be no great combinations. There will be, but they will grow more nearly according to law. The oil business will no longer be claimed openly by the Standard Oil Company, the tobacco business by the Tobacco Trust. The men who would refine and sell oil, who would make and sell tobacco will no longer be openly treated as poachers. And this is something gained.

What we all forget, critics and friends of the procedure which has brought upon us the present crises in the trust question, is that all we are doing is trying out a law devised to meet a situation which we all agree is intolerable. Outrageous practices have been tolerated and grown stronger by toleration. They must be uprooted. The trust decisions under the Sherman Anti-trust law are only great experiments. Nothing else is possible at this juncture. There is no sword to cut our knot. It must be untied by bungling, aching, patient fingers.

And because the work is slow and indecisive, there is tension and irritation. The people at large doubt the efficacy of what has been so far done. The men whom the law finds guilty feel that they are being unjustly dealt with; that they have accomplished great things for this country and its people, and are not receiving fair or considerate treatment. There is also an extended sentiment among other business men that the efforts of Mr. Taft and Mr. Wickersham to enforce the Sherman law are hurting the general prosperity of the country.

But we may as well face the issue and keep on facing it. If the Government were to stop now, the law would again fall into contempt; and the exasperation of the people grow more acute. If we proceed with wisdom and restraint, with forbearance and endurance, the sooner will we reach the stage in which there

**"One Knot
to be Untied
by Bungling
Patient
Fingers"**

**Mr.
Rockefeller's
Skillful Use of
Competition**

will be a dim glimmering of a just solution. It is manifest that a change is impending. If unjustly or selfishly hindered or unduly and unwarrantably hastened, the results will alike be unfortunate for this land.

Would that we had both the patience and the humility that Lincoln showed in experimenting with the Emancipation Proclamation! He knew it was an experiment, like all new policies and statutes. All that he would say for it was that he *hoped* it would bring greater gains than losses. "We are like whalers," he said one day, "who have been long on a chase; we have at last got the harpoon into the monster, but we must now look how we steer, or with one flop of his tail he will send us all into eternity."

There was no insistence that his way was the only or the best way. On the contrary he was ready to resign, he declared, if somebody could do the job better. There was no excited defense of his own policies or actions. On the contrary, as he wrote Greeley in August, 1862, he was ready to "correct errors when shown to be errors," "to adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views." He even reached the height where, alas, few men go, of making a compact with himself in case he was not reëlected (as it seemed in August of 1864 that he could not be), to *give his full coöperation to the man who should defeat him.*

Altogether, the greatest thing for us just

now would be some such big conception of the importance of our struggle as that which sustained Lincoln from 1854 to his death. He saw from the beginning that the fight against the extension of slavery was a part of the world's long struggle for civil liberty and personal freedom. So profound was his faith that freedom could not be checked that he could fight with exhaustless patience.

The irritation, the bitterness, the hysteria which fill the air now, are largely due to the lack of a big conception of what is at issue. This is not merely a fight for or against the form of business organization which shall be allowed in this land. It is not a mere effort to clip the wings of the principle of combination. These are but episodes in a great movement to insure the freedom of men to exercise their natural instinct both to compete and combine under no other limitations than those which justice, decency, and equality before the law give. "Human liberty," as our fathers defined and guaranteed it, is at stake in this struggle. There is no attack on business or on any just and proper freedom in business. The present phase is a war against that intent so destructive to business, so out of harmony with our institutions and aspirations, the intent of monopoly. Such an intent is anti-democratic, an oppressive and unnatural growth. Monopoly cannot exist—never has existed—without the help of privilege. Intent to monopolize in this land is an intent to violate the very foundations of the nation, and this we must fight.

THE LITTLE ROAD

BY

CAROLINE COLLINS

The little road winds up the hill,
And up the hill climbed he.
Ah, cruel, cruel little road,
To lure my love from me.

Once, at the top, I saw him stop,
I heard his laugh ring free.
The little road lay smiling there,
He had forgotten me.

I watched him sink beneath the brink,
Forever gone from me,
For they are wed, the guilty pair,
The little road and he.